

In its March, 1973 edition, *Shu'un Filastiniya* published the depositions of Daud Turki and Ehud Adiv, two of the defendants in the Red Front Trial accused of conducting espionage against the State of Israel. The first extract is from the deposition of Daud Turki.

"The majority of parties in the state of Israel are Zionist parties. Although there are parties which do not subscribe to the Zionist concept, the mere fact that they approve or accept the facts created by Zionism makes me regard them as assisting and accepting Zionism. I therefore cannot see that there is a place for me in any of these parties, although a small part of them do accept Arabs in their ranks. After the war I felt the need to establish a new organization which would be guided by Marxism, with due regard for the experiences and teachings of other revolutionaries in the world, like the international hero Ché Guevara, and the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung. What I had in mind was that the organization I was thinking of establishing should, above all, include every one in Israel, whether Jew or Arab, who was prepared to adhere to the socialist faith and ideology, to work for this programme and take part in all its intellectual and organizational activities. The object of this organization would be to establish a socialist regime in Israel and the Arab countries. Most unfortunately the picture of this organization has not been completed as I intended; in deter-

mining the framework of relations between members I made provision for central democratic discipline, with the members choosing, in secret, the organization's command, which was to be responsible for and direct the activities of the organization, so that each member should not act as he thought best. I believe that there is a place in it for the Jewish members of the organization, and they agree with me, because I cannot see that there is any Palestinian organization whose programme takes Jews into account. Regardless of the number of Jews in the country, I do not, and never shall, call for the Jews to be expelled or thrown into the sea. On the contrary, I oppose this trend with all my force, and I am prepared to do all in my power to prevent any man being made to suffer for his race, his religion or his nationality, and the Jewish members of the organization hold the same view. We have a programme whose goal is socialism. Socialism is the common goal of all workers, peasants and those who are persecuted in Israeli society. The Jews have a share, and they must have a share, because they are members of the organization on a footing of equality with me, in establishing a new government and a new regime which will allow both the Jewish people and the Arab people to play an effective part in the struggle of the Arab people for liberation.

"Zionism, throughout its history in the country, both before and since the establishment of the state, has placed the Jewish

people and the Jewish population in conflict with the Palestinian Arab people and the other Arab peoples. Instead of adopting, as it should, a neutral attitude, or one of support for the Arab struggle for national and socialist liberation, it has stood beside this movement's enemies, beside the Americans who are persecuting the Vietnamese people, beside American imperialism which is exploiting the peoples of Latin America and the peoples of Asia and Africa, and setting the Jewish people against the Arab people forever. I think that this attitude amounts to a crime against both the Jewish people and the Arab people.

"There is no ground for thinking that our organization is linked with the Syrian or Egyptian intelligence services, or with any other intelligence service. We believe that we here are not alone, but that we have associates in other Arab countries who do not believe in the present frontiers. And if we have any links with any other country, they are links on the basis of a shared ideology and a shared goal.

"Habib Qahwaji is accused of being a foreign agent, and I am accused of having links or contacts with him. Habib was born in Palestine, in the village of Fassuta, on the frontiers of the state of Israel. He is a human being; I know him as a teacher, a poet and a writer, as a patriotic human being of advanced views. I have known him for twenty-five years. When he was here in the country until the Six Day War, Habib Qahwaji had extreme nationalist views, but after the war he started thinking in a different way; he started thinking of the social significance of the Arab national liberation movement.

"I am not saying this to cover up, but because in the past I have had discussions with this man, and when I discussed with him the question of Jews joining the organization and their place in it, he agreed that they should be allowed to join and said that this was just and that the Jews had every right. He admitted the right of the Jewish people to live with us in the same state which would treat all its citizens on a basis of equality. I still do not believe that Qahwaji is a foreign agent. He is not linked with any intelligence service. He fights for freedom; he has been persecuted and expelled from

the country by the Zionist authorities, and if he has any contacts with Arabs from outside the country, they are contacts with individuals, not with authorities or anything like that — contacts with persons who are associated with him in his struggle for national and social liberation, whether they belong to Palestinian organizations or to parties that exist in the Arab countries, including Syria. My contacts with this man started when I received from him a letter through his wife's grandfather, asking me to choose some books which I thought would be in keeping with his ideas, as he wanted to read them; I sent them to him in a regular and absolutely legal way — through the post. The parcels I sent to Habib Qahwaji had his full address and my full address in Israel written on them. I had contacts with Habib Qahwaji and talked to him on several occasions, in addition to the daily talks we used to have when he was in the country until 1968. I said to him when I talked to him abroad that we believed that we Arabs and Jews must put a stop to this bloody war that had been going on for twenty-five years, and that it was the duty of every patriot, of every man who thinks of the future of his people, of other peoples and the peoples of the world, to find a way to establish a Jewish-Arab organization to struggle and fight to change the regimes and the ruling authorities in the country [Israel] and in the Arab countries.

"Habib Qahwaji shared my views, for he too was against the persecutors of the peoples in the country [Israel] and in the Arab countries. It was his view that this persecution was increasing the division between the Jewish people and the Arab people, although they had the same future and would live together in a single homeland under the rule of a single state, a state liberated from all foreign influence and all social exploitation.

"When I confessed to the interrogators I said that I had asked Habib Qahwaji for arms. This was for long-term purposes — for self-defence in case our organization should be attacked by Rabbi Kahane's 'Jewish Defence League.' I said in my confession that my organization would be secret, not because I am afraid of expressing my views, but because any expression of

my views would lead to me being persecuted and to life being made difficult for me. Were I to express my views I should be prevented from making a living, as my experiences had taught me.

"Democracy in the state of Israel is a democracy of the ruling class, not full democracy, and should it happen that the exercise of this democracy came into conflict with the interests of the Zionist ruling class, there would no longer be any democracy — it would be the exact opposite.

"As for my experience, in the sixteen years I was a member of the Communist Party I was persecuted by the state because I freely expressed my views. I should have sold my views and beliefs and relinquished that most elementary of basic human rights — the right to think without restriction. Although this thought and this right are safeguarded in democracy, I found it cannot be full democracy unless it ensures the right of a man whose thoughts are contrary to those of the regime, and whose mentality is opposed to that of the established regime, to live in it. Today any one who believes things different from what the government believes, or even breathes without the approval of the ruling class in the country, is an agent and a traitor. I was greatly moved yesterday by the evidence of the expert when he got up and said, on top of all he had said before, that a man who eats with his left hand is a wicked leftist who hates the Jews and wants to wipe out the Jewish people.

"With such a mentality and such a way of thinking it is difficult for Zionism to combat the Arabs who are struggling for freedom. Zionism is always seeking occasions and using propaganda devices to make it appear to the world that the Arab strugglers are against the Jews, hate the Jews and want to wipe out the Jewish people. This regime, this mentality, cannot stand people like us — Arabs and Jews working together — because this situation destroys their programmes and the course they are following and have followed since the foundation of the Zionist movement and the first immigration to this country. The course they have followed is the course of discrimination; they have been against the original inhabitants of the country and for the foreign immigrant. I said in my

confession that I met Habib Qahwaji at my request, and that he met me with a man whose accent told me that he was a Palestinian living in Egypt. This man does not belong to the Egyptian intelligence service but, as I thought at that time, at that moment, he was a man who might share a great part of my views.

"It was not the aim of my organization to impair the sovereignty of the state of Israel, but within these limits and through this common struggle I — and those who are coming after me — intended, when the time came, to do what we wanted, which was to bring about a social revolution — it was going to take us a very long time to get what we wanted. When I say 'when the time came' I do not mean tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. My organization has not achieved its final form. First and foremost, we twenty or a hundred persons cannot try to topple a government or overthrow a regime.

"This was something much too difficult for a person in our circumstances to dare to think of. This was something unthinkable; it was inconceivable that any one should imagine that it could happen tomorrow or the day after tomorrow or in ten years.

"This — the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a government of the class of the workers and peasants — requires a long period of intellectual preparation, organization and the study of problems, and so on. But in spite of this we say and we admit that we can only topple this government that represents the ruling class — the bourgeoisie, the class of those who represent Zionism — we can only change or topple this government by force. I readily admit this. And when I thought of working within the framework of my organization, I did not think of helping the enemy, I did not think of helping any enemy against the state of Israel. In my links with Habib Qahwaji, he and I, as members of this organization, which is a purely regional one, and as associates in this organization — I exchanged views with him. If I gave him anything, all I gave him was information about the members of the organization and about the organization itself.

"I did not give any information which might impair the security of the state or help the enemy. While I was in Syria, I visited Damascus, but had no contacts with any one in official circles.

"My most important contact was with Habib Qahwaji and with other persons who had no connection with the authorities, as I understood from their views, and who were Palestinians, as I was quite sure from their Palestinian accents.

"I am surprised that Habib Qahwaji was arrested at the outbreak of the Six Day War. I do not know what he was charged with, but the charge trumped up against him was that he was connected with the Egyptian intelligence service. I am amazed that the authorities should have released him after a year, although they say that they have decisive evidence against him. Here I should like to mention that my visit to him in 1969 was on the basis that he was not regarded as dangerous by the authorities, because he had not been brought to trial, which led me to believe that it was possible and permissible to contact him, and to continue to develop my relations with him as a colleague.

"At half past eleven a group of members of the Shin Beit¹ arrived, with one policeman, called Meir Yashi, and started searching my house. An hour later I was arrested; I was put in a car with a policeman and the driver, which took me somewhere — I did not know where until some time after my arrest. I reached the place of detention forty-five minutes later, and there I was put in a room by myself. I managed to sleep for an hour, and at 2:30 a.m. I was suddenly woken by the interrogators. I had fallen asleep because I had not eaten anything for forty-eight hours and because of the many problems that faced me.

"The interrogators surprised me with the following question: 'Where is your daughter Ayeda now?' Ayeda is my eldest daughter, who is very dear to me. All that I have missed in this life I have hoped she might have. My daughter Ayeda was the first and only Arab girl to be accepted

in the Institute of Technology [the Technion] in Haifa, where she spent three years studying chemical engineering. And now the investigators were asking me about my dearest possession. 'Where is your daughter Ayeda?' I knew that my daughter was studying at the University of Istanbul in Turkey, but being asked the question made me think that something might have happened to her. Perhaps the Shin Beit men had done something to her? So when I was asked: 'where is she?' I said: 'In Turkey.' But they said: 'No.' I said to them: 'She is in Turkey' and asked: 'Where is she? Is she here?' They said: 'Guess. If you want to make sure that nothing happens to her and that no one talks to her, so that she may continue her studies in Turkey, all you have to do is tell us about your case in detail and about what has happened to you.' At that moment all I wanted was to have my mind put at rest about Ayeda, to know if she was all right. The investigators said: 'We can do everything; it is easy for us. We have extremely good relations with the Turkish authorities. We can contact the Turkish authorities and inform them that we have withdrawn this young woman's Israeli nationality because she is engaging in secret activities in Turkey. Then they will arrest her, and you know how brutally the Turkish authorities behave.' They knew how fond I was of Ayeda; she represents the world I have always hoped for. They said to me: 'If you don't want something to happen to your daughter, you only have to tell us what has been going on, and we will guarantee that your daughter is safe and is allowed to continue her studies in Turkey.' It was not I that asked such an agreement from the interrogators. From the first day, from the first minute of the interrogation it was they who raised the subject of my daughter Ayeda, and they exploited her throughout the interrogation. They exploited her when they found it difficult to force me to say things which were not true about my colleagues and other men.

"The investigators said to me: 'You send messages to your daughter Ayeda for her to

¹ *Sherut Betahon Kelali (General Security Service) is the division of Mossad, the Israeli security and intelligence organization, that executes operational work abroad and checks security at home and in foreign countries. It is frequently known by its first two initials in Hebrew — Shin Beit.*

forward to the Syrian and Egyptian intelligence services.' I said: 'Yes, I send messages to my daughter Ayeda, but not to either Egyptian or Syrian intelligence services, only to Habib Qahwaji: I used to correspond with him and write to him about my problems in the organization, and he used to write to me about his own problems in the organization, and his problems with his friends who live with him in the Arab countries.'

"During my contacts with Habib Qahwaji I was unaware that he had contacts with the Syrian intelligence service, and I am still sure that he does not belong to any intelligence service, so I have not sent information to any intelligence service. It is not my object, or the object of my organization, to impair the security of the state.

"During my questioning I found myself obliged to use the expressions the interrogators used, because they wanted me to say 'a sabotage organization, sabotage materials and intelligence services.' If I mentioned the name of an Egyptian, they made a point of adding a description without my knowledge. They did not read me the statement they had taken from me; they added to my deposition such expressions as 'Syrian intelligence service' or 'Egyptian intelligence service,' or 'explosives and sabotage organizations.'

"The organization was striving to bring about the social revolution and to establish a socialist regime, and it never entered my mind for a moment that it was possible to attain this objective through killing people or molesting citizens. On the contrary, I believe that the way to attain this objective is to disarm the class enemy and make it impossible for him to continue his war. Nor did I think I should start a war for this objective; I do not believe it is possible to do so with such small numbers. If we had greater numbers we should only start if we could no longer bear the repression and exploitation of the regime. This is what I believed and what I still believe.

"Although I am an Israeli citizen I regard myself as a Palestinian Arab and as an integral part of the Palestinian Arab people which regards itself as being part of

the great Arab nation. In spite of this I take an internationalist view, and there are no barriers between me and my Jewish comrades. I believe that it is my duty as an Arab, and that it is the duty of my Jewish comrades as Jews, in the interests of their people, that we should all work side by side on the long road. There is a place for the Jewish people, indeed it is essential that it should have the same objective, to prevent other wars and further bloodshed and to prevent foreign elements from interfering in our politics and our affairs. I harbour no hatred for any people, neither the Jewish people nor the Afghan people nor the French people — unless a Frenchman, in spite of the fact that he believes in the same religion as I do, comes to this country and behaves in the same way as Zionism has, then I shall resist him.

"The history of the people of this country has proved that the resistance of the Arab people to the settlers who come in spite of Arab opposition has never been based on a racist or chauvinist view of things, but on the principle of resistance to occupation and foreign domination."

The second extract is from the deposition of Ehud Adiv, and takes up his declaration where he moves from an outline discussion of the emergence of the Zionist state to discuss the present situation of Israel.

"It might be possible to justify Zionism if at least it constituted a solution for the Jewish people. For me, as a Jew, such an explanation would be a sufficient basis for me either to oppose or to support this movement. But Zionism as an ideology not only does not solve the problem of the Jews, it makes it even more serious. It will not be necessary to review anti-Zionist standpoints, whether of the left or the right, the religious or the non-religious. But I should like to mention one standpoint, which is embodied in people like [Rabbi] Meir Kahane,¹ who claims that the Jews of America are expecting a catastrophe like that of the Nazis, so that they should leave, or 'flee,' to the state of refuge — the state of Israel. If this was only Kahane's point of view, we could understand. But that a large group of people like the Jewish Congress

¹ *Leader of the Jewish Defence League.*

should accept and support the thesis which maintains that the United States will want to annihilate its Jews and at the same time support the state of refuge to which they flee — just as there are people in the Zionist movement who are so simple as to believe that the state of Israel could hold out for a single day without American support — this is shocking idiocy! But the basis is not the ideology, which has never been convincing, and is even less so today; what is important is Zionist action. If the situation was never clear to the Jews who lived in Israel before the Six Day War, it became perfectly clear after the War. Zionism, or to be more precise the Zionist leadership, has turned the Jews in the state of Greater Israel into a people of masters on the classical model, with all the distinguishing marks of settler colonialism and the European oppression of the peoples of the Third World. And all this with the support of American capital and arms.

"The recently occupied areas, which are twice as large as the areas previously occupied, and are inhabited by more than a million Arabs, have provided the Israeli economy with both Arab labour and a large market for its products. This is being done under a military government which makes it quite impossible to resist or reject this situation. But, as usual, the bare facts are not sufficient to lead to an exact understanding of the situation; such an understanding can, however, be reached if we take a look at the case of the refugees in Gaza. Between 1948 and 1950 Zionism expelled them from Majdal, for example, and turned them into paupers living in huts not fit even for animals. Today, after twenty years, Zionism is completing the task so as to use them as slaves for its economy. When they dare to raise their heads in opposition, the Frontier Guard is brought in with bulldozers to make an example of them. The government of Israel is displaying the Jews to the Arabs in both the old and the new areas, and in the whole of the Arab East, in the guise of 'businessmen' and oppressors. This situation creates a gulf of hatred that grows daily deeper and wider, for it is perfectly obvious what will be the reply of these Arabs — the refugees in Gaza — to what is being done to them: the killing of Jews.

And this is exactly what they are trying to do. And the government of Israel answers them in the only language it knows: 'the deterrent power of the Israeli Defence Forces,' which of course only makes Arab resistance more acute — and so on till the end.

"The lesson I have learned from the history of the struggle of the oppressed for liberation is that no regime or state has held out for long in this situation. All the great empires which looked as though they were going to last for ever through the force of their bayonets have disappeared and left the stage of history. As a Communist I am convinced of this without a shadow of doubt. The struggle of the oppressed is just and will be victorious in the end. Then, and perhaps long before then, if nothing has changed in Jewish circles in Israel the fate of the Jews here will be bitter indeed. They will be forced to pay a very high price for their actions, even for their silence should they in fact not have played an active part in everything that Zionism has done. For one who becomes aware of this perverted situation, it is difficult to accept it (or to sit by in silence).

"It is important to emphasize that it is no accident that all my political activity — and not only mine — became much more intense after the Six Day War, which resulted in the situation of an occupying country, a situation which daily gave rise to innumerable facts which support my views. As I said, my view of Zionism is part of my view of the world in general, and the Six Day War did not basically change or define anything.

"What is to be done? In reply to this question Lenin wrote almost a whole book, but I will try to make do with less than that. The first thing is: What do the parties propose should be done? What do the Communist organizations in Israel propose — Rakah — the Communist party which supports the USSR, and takes the Russian line of peaceful coexistence, and accepts, even supports, the state of Israel of June 4. It completely ignores the Palestinian-Zionist problem which is the basis of all Middle East conflict. That is to say, it sees the problem of the Palestinian Arab people as the problem of an oppressed

minority in the state of Israel, and it sees its own task as being to adopt this minority's just struggle for equality of rights. This view does not solve the problem; it tries to make it more difficult to digest. Also their propaganda line is that it will be better for Israel to accept Security Council resolution 242, be neutral in the conflict between the blocs, and so on. This shows an absolute lack of understanding or a conscious disregard of the nature of the Zionist movement, suggesting as it does that Zionism and the state of Israel could have chosen another course, an anti-colonialist course. In general, it can be said of Rakah's view that, as we have said, it is the reflection of the view of the ruling bureaucracy in the USSR, which has despaired of the ability of the oppressed peoples in the rest of the world to do what their workers and soldiers did fifty-six years ago — to bring about a socialist revolution. This view is neither Communist nor Marxist, and of course I do not accept it. On the other hand all trends in Matzpen, the Israeli Socialist Organization, have a sound theory, or ideology; what they lack is the chapter entitled "what is to be done" to reach the multi-national socialist Middle East they talk of, and in their political activity they restrict their talk to the Jewish state of Israel. That is to say they are preoccupied with convincing the Jews, and completely disregard the Arab struggle, and in particular the Palestinian Arab struggle against Zionism and the state of Israel. There is strong evidence for this disregard as it gives rise to two kinds of struggle against the authorities. The first is "not through force," as the Matzpen leaders say, and this leads to nothing but talk. The second, which is the Arab one, is dirty, violent and bloody action, which has nothing to do with talk or ideology. This situation has, once again, meant that the problem has remained unsolved. That

is to say, it has not even diminished the gulf between the Jews and the Arabs in this country, and nothing has been done to remove the causes of the Arabs' lack of confidence, suspicion and hatred, even of the Jewish left.

"This perverted situation must be changed, and this is what I have tried to do by preparing for struggle against the state of Israel, which has so far taken the form of a war by the Arabs against the Jews, of the oppressed against their oppressors, with Arabs and Jews facing each other across the barricades, and by turning it into a class struggle. This can only be done if the Jews will prove to the Arabs, who have been fighting Zionism for dozens of years, that they [the Jews] are on their side, that they are prepared to sacrifice everything they have, to be subjected to the same 'treatment' and to share everything with them. Without this no Arab will have confidence that the sincerest Jewish revolutionary is really revolutionary. No ideology, not even the most equitable and progressive, can convince the Arabs unless it is accompanied by action on the part of those who adhere to it. The organization of which I was a member published a number of pamphlets explaining its aims and its programme. Inasmuch as our allies in the struggle are the Marxist-Leninist organizations in the area, I have tried — and as long as I am able I shall continue to try — to contact them with a view to forming a common front for action. My attitude to armed struggle is a positive one as long as it tries to promote the revolution, that is to say, the operation of liberating the masses, in a tangible manner. What is wanted is an organization consisting of some hundreds of persons acting both legally — through the press, publications and propaganda — and illegally — through the military wing of the organization, taking action to achieve all I have already mentioned."